

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T GENEVA 6103

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EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: POSSIBLE COMPROMISE OVER
PRINCIPLES LANGUAGE

REF: STATE 224321

FROM BOSTER

1. SUMMARY: WE APPRECIATE SUGGESTED COMPROMISE IN REFTEL AND HAVE DISCUSSED THIS IDEA INFORMALLY WITH INTERESTED NATO ALLIES. WE BELIEVE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTION MAY PROVE USEFUL AT LATER STAGE BUT WE FEEL IT IS NOT APPROPRIATE TO THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING SITUATION, WOULD NOT NOW RECEIVE ANY SUPPORT FROM OUR ALLIES, AND WOULD ALIGN US OPENLY WITH SOVIETS AGAINST SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS AND STRATEGY BEING PURSUED BY OUR ALLIES. HOWEVER, SOVIETS' LARGER OBJECTIVE OF INCLUDING PRE-AMBULAR LANGUAGE IN BASKET 3 (ZLAWS AND CUSTOMS" IS ONLY ONE OF THE SETS OF PRINCIPLES SOVIETS SEEK TO INCLUDE IN THIS PREAMBLE IS BEING PARTIALLY MET IN ANOTHER WAY. END SUMMARY

2. SUB-COMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES WILL BEGIN GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL
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AFFAIRS ABOUT NOVEMBER 16. BUT SUB-COMMITTEE IS NOT YET AT DRAFTING STAGE, AND REFTEL TACTICS, TO GIVE THE SOVIETS WHAT THEY NEED, WOULD REQUIRE DRAFTING OF THIS PRINCIPLE. ALL ALLIES ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO

ANY DRAFTING OF PRINCIPLES AT THIS STAGE, AND ARE CONVINCED THAT DRAFTING OF ONE PRINCIPLE WOULD FACILITATE SOVIET INSISTENCE ON IMMEDIATE DRAFTING OF ALL PRINCIPLES. USDEL HAS BEEN IN AGREEMENT WITH THIS POSITION.

3. IN BASKET III, THE ALLIES HAVE HELD STRONGLY TO POSITION THAT NO PREAMBLE WHATSOEVER IS NEEDED TO PRECEDE CONCRETE AGREEMENTS. STRATEGY OF ALLIES IS NOT TO AGREE TO HAVE A PREAMBLE UNTIL SOVIETS HAVE ENTERED MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS. ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO WAIT THIS OUT WITH SOME PATIENCE, BUT IN THE END WILL PROBABLY AGREE TO HAVE A PREAMBLE, PROVIDED IT DOES NOT INCLUDE REFERENCE TO "NATIONAL LAWS AND CUSTOMS". MOST ALLIES SEE THIS AS A NATURAL EAST-WEST COMPROMISE, ALL THE MORE LOGICAL SINCE IT IS BASICALLY THE SAME COMPROMISE TO WHICH THE SOVIETS AGREED IN HELSINKI. ALLIES ARE NOT PREPARED (NOW, AT LEAST) TO GIVE AWAY MORE IN GENEVA.

4. FRENCH HAVE BEEN WORKING CAREFULLY FOR A MONTH TO FIND A COMPROMISE ("MINI-BASKET") SOLUTION UNDER WHICH SYNOPTIC PRESENTATIONS OF ALL CONCRETE PROPOSALS WOULD BE TABLED IN BASKET III SUB-COMMITTEES. TO SATISFY EASTERN BLOC, FORMULA HAS BEEN FOUND TO APPLY THIS DEVICE ALSO TO PREAMBLE OF BASKET III, THUS PROVIDING SOVIETS WITH TACIT ADMISSION OF POSSIBILITY OF A PREAMBLE TO BASKET III (WHICH IS WHERE THEY WANT TO INCLUDE POINT ON "LAWS AND CUSTOMS"), AS WELL AS DISCUSSION OF THIS PREAMBLE IN PARALLEL WITH DISCUSSIONS OF CONCRETE WESTERN PROPOSALS. "MINI-BASKET" DEVICE WILL PROBABLY BE APPROVED AT COMMITTEE III MEETING NOVEMBER 16. NATO CAUCUS HAS ALSO AGREED TO TABLE CONCRETE PROPOSALS IN FINAL FORM IN SUBCOMMITTEES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AS FURTHER STIMULUS TO DISCUSSION. WE BELIEVE THIS IS THE MOST
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WHICH CAN BE EXPECTED AT THE PRESENT TIME AND THAT IT SHOULD GIVE SOVIETS AT LEAST SOME SATISFACTION.

5. PARALLEL DISCUSSIONS OF PREAMBLE AND CONCRETE PROPOSALS WILL DOUBTLESS PROCEED SLOWLY, BUT ALLIES ARE FULLY PREPARED TO AWAIT SOVIET CONCESSIONS WITH PATIENCE, AND WE DO NOT BELIEVE WE CAN ALTER THEIR BASIC STRATEGY WITHOUT OPENLY OPPOSING THEM.

6. SUGGESTED ACTION. IF DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN IS TO SHOW RESPONSIVENESS TO SOVIET INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION, I AM HAVING LUNCH WITH KOVLAEV AND MADELEVICH ON NOVEMBER 20 AND COULD SAY THAT WE WERE GIVING CAREFUL ATTENTION TO SOVIET CONCERN ON

POINT OF PREAMBLE AND THAT, AS ONE WAY OF TRYING TO BE HELPFUL, WE HAVE GIVEN BEHIND-THE-SCENES SUPPORT TO FRENCH PROPOSAL. I DOUBT THAT WE SHOULD GO FURTHER AT THIS TIME IN TRYING TO RE-ASSURE KOVALEV ABOUT THE "LAWS AND CUSTOMS" ASPECT OF THE PREAMBLE AS LONG AS THE NATO STAND AGAINST IT REMAINS AS STRONG AS IT IS NOW.

7. WOULD APPRECIATE REACTION PRIOR TO NOVEMBER 20 LUNCH. BASSIN

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